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ABSTRACT

Although police officers are routinely criticized for their negative attitudes and behavior toward sexual assault victims, few programs are described in the literature which educate and train officers to improve their actions in this area. This neglect is addressed in this study, in which three classes of police recruits are examined: (1) a baseline class, which received the standard, police academy training protocol; (2) an experimental group, which received a 4-hour training workshop on sexual assault response; and (3) a second experimental group that received the same 4 hours of training, but had material integrated into the general police training curriculum. Results revealed that the experimental training programs were no more likely than the baseline curriculum to produce change in sexual assault knowledge, rape myth acceptance, or judgments in a simulated sexual assault interview. However, the role players who portrayed rape victims in simulated interviews reported that recruits in the third group outperformed others with respect to interviewing content and style. Officers in the second group were more likely than others to address the victim's physical and emotional welfare, along with other factors. It is suggested that specific training is needed to prepare officers for competent performance in sexual assault interviews. Contains 86 references. (RJM)

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POLICE TRAINING IN SEXUAL ASSAULT RESPONSE: COMPARISON OF APPROACHES

BY

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ABSTRACT

The literature abounds with criticism of negative police attitudes and behavior toward sexual assault victims, and a number of authors have responded with calls for improved training in this area. Unfortunately, very few such programs are described in the literature and almost none are systematically evaluated, so it remains difficult to evaluate their effectiveness. The present study addresses this neglect by examining three classes of police recruits: (1) a baseline class received the standard training protocol currently administered at the police academy (baseline condition); (2) one experimental group received specialized training in sexual assault response for four hours at an evening workshop (workshop condition); (3) and a second experimental group received the same four hours of training, but material was integrated into the general police training curriculum (integrated condition). Quantitative analysis revealed that the experimental training programs were no more likely than the baseline curriculum to produce change in sexual assault knowledge, rape myth acceptance, or judgments in a simulated sexual assault interview. Yet the roleplayers who portrayed rape victims in these simulated interviews reported that recruits in the integrated condition outperformed others with respect to interviewing content and style. Thematic coding also revealed a number of class differences in the verbal performance in the simulated interviews; most importantly, officers in the workshop condition were more likely than others to address the victim's physical and emotional welfare, the suspect's responsibility, and the information and options for police investigation. Clearly, specific training is needed to prepare officers for competent performance in sexual assault interviews, and a comprehensive but isolated training unit appears more effective for recruits whose conceptualization of sexual assault is not yet integrated into a larger understanding of law enforcement. Ultimately, the goal of such training is to ensure that rape victims receive the sensitive and competent response they deserve from the criminal justice system.

INTRODUCTION

Women believe that not only will we not be believed by the police... but when we go to court, the incident will not be seen from our point of view. It is unfortunate that these fears have, on the whole, proved accurate. The fear of being treated poorly is not an invention of women's imaginations. It is the result of the way we have been treated (Catherine MacKinnon, 1987, p.82).

In 1987, public consciousness was challenged by a national study revealing that one in four women had been the victims of rape or attempted rape (Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987). This prevalence estimate has since been replicated consistently by other researchers and is now generally assumed to reflect the extent of rape both on campus (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; O'Shaughnessey & Palmer, 1989) and in the more general population (Koss, Woodruff, & Koss, 1991; National Victim Center, 1992a; Russell, 1982; Walch & Broadhead, 1992).[1] As a result of this groundbreaking research, unprecedented attention has been focused on sexual assault by the media, the general public, and major societal institutions -- most especially, the criminal justice system. Despite this dramatic increase in concern, however, the literature continues to reflect the many ways in which the criminal justice system fails rape victims (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1975; Chandler & Torney, 1981; Dukes & Mattley, 1977; Estrich, 1987; Mantese et al., 1991; Robin, 1977; Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1974; Vito, Longmire, & Kenney, 1983-4; Weisbrud & Levin, 1994).

Despite legal and procedural reform over the past two decades, recent research suggests that "statutory rape law reform has not had a very substantial effect on either victim behavior or actual practices in the criminal justice system" (Bachman & Paternoster, 1993, p.573; also Spohn & Horney, 1993). For example, although criminal justice statistics in both the U.S. and Canada indicate that legal reform has led to an increase in rape reporting, it has not been matched with comparable increases in the rates of arrest, prosecution, and conviction (Bachman & Paternoster, 1993; Polk, 1985; Renner & Sahjpaul, 1986). Related to this concern is the markedly high rate of unfounding for sexual assault cases, along with low rates of prosecution and conviction, and relatively lenient sentencing (Chandler & Torney, 1981; Grace, Lloyd, & Smith, 1992; Estrich, 1987; McCahill, Meyer, & Fischman, 1979; Polk, 1985; Roberts & Gebotys, 1992; Senate Judiciary Committee, 1993; Smith, 1989; Thompson, 1990; Wright, 1984).[2] As the Senate Judiciary Committee (1993) concluded, "approximately one in 10 (reported) rapes result in time served in prison" and "nearly half of all reported rape cases are dismissed before trial" (p.25). Thus,

> Applying our figures to conservative estimates of the number of rapes nationwide, we conclude that a woman has: a 2.5% chance of seeing her attacker convicted, and a 1.9% chance of seeing her attacker incarcerated (Senate Judiciary Committee, 1993, p.28).

Police Attitudes Toward Rape

A number of factors have been used to explain the justice system's failure to respond adequately to the problem of rape, among which are the negative attitudes exhibited by law enforcement officers and other criminal justice personnel.

Theoretical perspectives. These critiques first arose in the 1970's, when feminist writers such as Susan

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Brownmiller and Germaine Greer accused police of holding attitudes based on stereotypic and victim-blaming assumptions (Brownmiller, 1975; Greer, 1975). Such conclusions have not been limited, however, to feminist writers in the 1970's. Rather, such concerns have been echoed over the last two decades by numerous writers in psychology, sociology, and criminology (Bachman, 1993; Battelle Law and Justice Study Center, 1975; Bracki & Connor, 1975; Burgess, 1987; Burgess & Holmstrom, 1975; Chandler & Torney, 1981; Curtis, 1974; Dukes & Mattley, 1977; Fairstein, 1993; Feild, 1978; Feldman-Summers & Palmer, 1980; Galton, 1975-76; Hurst, 1977; Law Enforcement News, 1990; Lopez, 1992; Mantese et al., 1991; Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1974; Senate Judiciary Committee, 1993; Vachss, 1993; Webster, 1978; Weisbrud & Levin, 1994; Wood, 1973).

Empirical evidence. Empirical work has also examined this question of police attitudes. For example, among Feild's (1978) famous sample of research participants: "the patrol police officers were more similar to the rapists than they were to the counselors in their views of rape" (p.169). Others have suggested that rape myth acceptance continues to be widespread among criminal justice personnel (Bachman, 1993; LeDoux & Hazelwood, 1985). Furthermore, work by Feldman-Summers and Palmer (1980) has revealed that members of the criminal justice system (a significant percentage of whom were police officers) held different attitudes toward sexual assault than did rape crisis staff. For example, police were more likely to focus on victim causes for the assault, whereas rape crisis staff emphasized the role of the perpetrator and larger society (Feldman-Summers & Palmer, 1980). The authors also reported that the police believed that only 36% of reported assaults represent "true rapes." To that extent, "it should not be surprising that such a belief is communicated to the victim in one way or another, even by police officers who try to treat a rape victim with courtesy and respect" (Feldman-Summers, 1980, p.36).

Police Behavior in Sexual Assault Cases

Theoretical perspectives. In an ultimate sense, negative police attitudes are of less concern than the actual treatment of rape victims within the criminal justice system. As the first point of contact within the criminal justice system (and the only personnel involved with the case from start to finish), police officers have a significant impact on the victim's experience (Burgess & Hazelwood, 1987; Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974; Holmstrom & Burgess, 1978; LaFree, 1981; Latts & Geiselman, 1991; Madigan & Gamble, 1991; Moteles, 1987; National Victim Center, 1992b). Indeed, some have suggested that this initial contact can build a foundation of trust that will facilitate victim recovery (National Victim Center, 1992b). In addition, police provide the pool of arrestees for prosecution, and more cases are screened from the system by this group than any other (LaFree, 1981).

Unfortunately, accounts of police mistreatment have recently appeared in federal reports on sexual assault in both the United States (Senate Judiciary Committee, 1993) and United Kingdom (Grace et al., 1992). Others have described the "secondary victimization" that too often occurs when rape victims report their assault to the criminal justice system (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1975; Dukes & Mattley, 1977; Holmes, 1980; Holmstrom & Burgess, 1978; Madigan & Gamble, 1991; Mantese et al., 1991; McCahill, Meyer, & Fischman, 1979; Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1974; Weisbrud & Levin, 1994). For example, McDonald (1976) suggested that, "as far as the victim is concerned justice is as bad as the crime if not worse" (p.23). Not surprisingly, rape crisis centers have thus historically shared an

antagonistic relationship with the criminal justice system, often assuming that victims have everything to lose and nothing to gain by reporting and cooperating with prosecution (McDonald, 1976).

Empirical evidence. The issue has also received a limited amount of empirical investigation. For example, among one sample of rape victims 21% reported being treated badly or disrespectfully by the police, and minority women were notably over-represented among this group (Holmes, 1980). In another, "the involvement of police or other authorities was related to initial and lasting negative effects of adjustment to rape" (Wyatt, Notgrass, & Newcomb, 1990, p.170). Finally, Golding et al. (1989) concluded that, "police were least likely of all sources to be described as helpful, receiving such a description from slightly more than one-third of those who reported assaults to them" (p.104). Clearly, a great deal of empirical work has supported the portrayal of secondary victimization in the criminal justice system.

Fortunately, not all research has indicated such police insensitivity; a number of authors have reported that rape victims provide positive ratings of police interactions (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974, 1975; Holmes, 1980; McCahill et al., 1979; Popiel & Susskind, 1985; Wirtz & Harrell, 1987). In one study, the majority reported that police were helpful and made them feel better (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1975). In another, "women who reported their rapes to the police had a significantly better overall adjustment...and scored lower on all fears" (Cohen & Roth, 1987, p.530). Finally, rape crisis centers surveyed by the National Victim Center (1992a) reported that "68% had excellent or good ratings of police" (p.11). Thus, the picture is not uniform regarding police treatment of sexual assault survivors, suggesting that such treatment varies greatly among law enforcement agencies.

Positive appraisals of police response to sexual assault might be at least partially due to the growing realization that victim cooperation is necessary for successful clearance and prosecution of charges (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974; Murphy, 1980; National Victim Center, 1992a; O'Reilly, 1984, 1994; Resick, 1984; Sanders, 1976; Ullman & Dameron, 1979). As Burgess and Hazelwood (1987) have noted, "the manner in which police officers treat a victim affects not only an immediate and long-term ability to deal with the event, but also willingness to assist in a prosecution" (p.23). Thus,

> A good detective soon realizes that the victim in a sexual assault case is by far the most important piece of evidence you have, and that if you trample on that evidence, it is much worse than trampling on a crime scene (Epstein & Langenbahn, 1994, p.17).

Past Training Efforts in Sexual Assault Response

Despite the repeated call for police training and the wide variety of materials that are available, few such programs are described explicitly in the literature, and most were designed and implemented decades ago.[3] In addition, almost none of these programs have been evaluated in any systematic fashion, so it remains difficult to ascertain their general efficacy. Nevertheless, programs that have been described and evaluated are of particular interest in the present context.

Early programs. An early program was described by Gottesman (1977), a nurse who conducted instruction for officers using lecture, discussion, and demonstration. Program objectives were to provide information regarding: (1)

the officers' personal attitudes and feelings; (2) rape trauma syndrome and victim reactions; (3) medical examination of victims; (4) legal considerations; (5) and interviewing and intervention skills. The author reported that participating officers increased their understanding and awareness of sexual assault, but failed to relinquish their belief in the victim's fundamental responsibility for the crime. She concluded that such specific training had some potential for positive impact and was therefore important for officers to handle rape cases appropriately.

A similar program was described by Adleman (1977) that relied heavily on crisis intervention theory. The program utilized didactic instruction along with discussion and role-plays in which officers were asked to portray either a rape victim or "significant other." The author concluded that role-playing was an educational experience for the officers, as it provided: (1) the time and support to practice interviewing; (2) the environment to use difficult sexual language; (3) and the context to develop insight into personal attitudes, feelings, and behavior. In conclusion, Adleman (1977) argued that the program allowed participants to problem solve in a comfortable environment, as well as gaining insight into themselves and the issues surrounding rape.

Also in the 1970's, Bracki and Connor (1975) designed a training program based on exploratory research concerning stereotypic assumptions and inappropriate judgments. The first training application involved interviewing an actress hired to portray a rape victim. In the interview, officers established little foundation material about the victim or incident, and questions regarding the rape were too general and structured. When sensitive issues did arise, officers either retreated or provided "reactionary rhetoric" (Bracki & Connor, 1975, p.38). Many rape myths became evident, and officers made accusations of fault toward the victim, inquiring suspiciously about the lack of injuries, previous sexual history, and her general "character."

In the second training application, the officers received a two-hour lecture on rape including: basic myths, reporting issues, lack of arrest, and poor conviction rates. When officer stereotypes became evident, attempts were made to provide alternative conceptualizations. After the training, participants were described as being "conscious of their attitudes and their influential role" (Bracki & Connor, 1975, p.39); their subsequent encounter with the "rape victim" thus maintained the flavor of an interview rather than an interrogation, following a clear structure and goals. Evidentiary demands were considered, as well as the perspective of the victim/witness. Generally, the interview was conducted with minimal stress and maximal information gained.

Recent programs. A more recent training program was implemented with the King County and Seattle Police Departments. The three-hour program used both videotaped and role-played interviews with officers playing the role of the victim. The program was reported to be extremely effective in preparing recruits for actual interviews, as they could "readily relate to the victim in the scenario" (Epstein & Langenbahn, 1994, p.21). A similar program was also described by Winkel et al. (1991), which involved discussion, videotapes, and role-playing with specific focus on interviewing techniques. Finally, the Oakland Police Department instituted training for rape investigation, after realizing that they were unfounding 25% of their rape cases, compared with approximately 8% at other departments. Because investigators were apparently using inappropriate criteria for unfounding -- based on whether the case was "prosecutable" -- the training program addressed these and other relevant issues (Thompson, 1990, p.6). In each case, unfortunately, the

program was neither explicitly described nor evaluated.

Perhaps the most comprehensive response to sexual assault has been described by Martin et al. (1992), reflecting the type of interagency coordination that has often been recommended (e.g., Epstein & Langenbahn, 1994; National Victim Center, 1992b). The authors described a program involving the many agencies in sexual assault response (victim advocates, hospital staff, police officers, prosecutors, etc.) and incorporating training for all those involved. Unfortunately, this interagency effort was neither explicitly described nor evaluated, so the only relevant data comes from the National Victim Center (1992b), suggesting that such an approach is more likely than others to yield successful prosecution of sexual assault offenses.

Clearly, very few training programs in this area are evaluated so that any understanding of outcomes is severely limited. One notable exception is found in Vito, Longmire, and Kenney (1983-4), who described a program designed "to sensitize individuals to the trauma caused by rape and to provide information to prevent this crime from occurring" (p.32). Although training material was not described in any detail, it was reportedly supplemented by the employment of a "rape victim specialist" who served as a liaison between the victim, police, and the courts. Officers reportedly perceived the program as valuable and as providing new information. In addition, outcome data suggested an increase in the rates of arrest from 28% to 80% over an 18-month period. Implementation of the program also corresponded with an increase in conviction rates 18% to 80%, and it was described as "difficult to imagine that the success of the program with regard to its impact on conviction rates is accidental" (Vito, Longmire, & Kenney, 1983-4, p.35).

METHOD

Overview

The present study represents a much needed addition to the field by examining alternative approaches for police training in sexual assault response. Specifically, classes of recruits were involved in one of three training programs, designed by the author in consultation with rape crisis and law enforcement personnel. (1) First, a baseline class received the standard training protocol currently administered at a police academy, consisting of less than one hour of material on sexual assault (the "baseline condition"). Two additional classes of police recruits received experimental training protocols facilitated by the experimenter and a police representative. These two alternative formats thus served as differential treatment conditions to compare against the baseline. (2) The first experimental group received four hours of specialized training in sexual assault, primarily during an evening workshop (the "workshop condition"). (3) The second experimental group received the same four hours of training, but material was integrated into the general police training curriculum (the "integrated condition"). For example, victim reactions were addressed in the unit on interviewing and myths regarding consent were covered in the unit on criminal law. The evaluation of alternative training protocols was designed to provide an important comparison of outcomes for the groups, providing valuable guidance for future efforts in this area.

Participants

Participants in the present study included three classes of recruits in the Minimum Standard Basic Law Enforcement Training Course at the Police Training Institute, University of Illinois. Individuals enrolled in this program

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have been hired by police departments across the state, and they must complete 400 hours of instruction as prescribed by the Illinois Law Enforcement Training and Standards Board. Each class of 56 recruits was assigned to one of the three treatment conditions, so that the research initially involved a total of 168 participants.

Approximately 7% of the participating recruits were female and their age ranged from 21 to 59 years with an average of 26. The vast majority were also White/European-American (88%), with the remaining 3% African-American, 5% Native American, and 2% Latino/Latina. Officers reported amounts of past law enforcement experience ranging from 0 to 25 years, with an average of approximately two. Finally, the vast majority of recruits expected to work in a small to medium-sized municipal department upon graduation from the academy (73%), with the remaining percentage in sheriff's departments (7%), large municipal departments (2%), university police departments (2%), or other law enforcement agencies (1%).

Rape Training Protocols

A more complete description of each training program is provided for more comprehensive understanding of the educational interventions to be evaluated.

Baseline curriculum. The baseline curriculum generally includes only brief attention to issues of criminal sexual assault. Specifically, two topics are typically covered during the 400-hour programs: (1) laws pertaining to sexual assault and abuse; (2) and dynamics of the crime. Little or no discussion addresses the special concerns of sexual assault criminology, victimology, or investigation. Instruction is provided by faculty at the Police Training Institute or adjunct trainers from community agencies.

Experimental program #1: Workshop format. One class of police recruits was intended to receive specialized training in sexual assault response during a four-hour workshop presentation. Unfortunately, due to staff turnover a new trainer presented approximately 30 minutes of material -- prior to participation in the experimental training program -- during the unit on criminal offenses. Because of this, the evening workshop was reduced to three and one-half hours, which only briefly reiterated the training points covered previously by the other instructor. The remaining experimental material addressed: The Illinois Criminal Sexual Assault Act, Sexual Assault Impact and Interview, and Dynamics and Preliminary Investigation of Sexual Assault.

Experimental program #2: Integrated format. The integrated format of sexual assault training attempted to provide not only more infused instruction into the more general police training curriculum but also greater time and opportunity for processing material. Toward that end, the following instructional units were incorporated into the curriculum of one class of Basic Law Enforcement:

The Illinois Criminal Sexual Assault Act (90 minutes)

Lecture and discussion addressed elements of the criminal sexual assault offense, including aggravating factors and common misconceptions regarding issues such as consent and victim precipitation. Numerous interactive examples were used to illustrate training points.

Sexual Assault Impact and Interview (60 minutes)

Lecture and discussion addressed the impact of sexual assault and preliminary interviews with victims. A role-playing example was used to highlight training points.

Dynamics and Preliminary Investigation of Sexual Assault (90 minutes)

Lecture and discussion addressed the dynamics of sexual assault, community attitudes, the teamwork approach to sexual assault investigation, and preliminary investigation of the crime. A videotaped account of a police officer raped on duty was used to illustrate training points.

Materials

To understand the training outcomes, a number of evaluation measures were administered to each class of recruits both before and after experimental participation.

Background information. Prior to experimental participation, police recruits provided a range of information regarding their personal and professional background. Specifically, recruits were asked to report their: (1) sex, (2) age, (3) racial/ethnic identification, (4) amount of past law enforcement experience, (5) type/size of current employing department, (6) and past contact with rape survivors. Finally, (7) personal relevance of the training material was assessed by asking recruits: "How likely is it that you will be involved in a sexual assault case in the next year?" and "How important is it for you to know procedures for responding to sexual assault cases?" Responses to the first question was provided on a Likert scale with options ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*). Parallel questions pertaining to other crimes were also presented for comparison (i.e., robbery/burglary, auto theft, non-domestic assault, domestic violence, child abuse, and controlled substances). Responses to the second question were provided by ranking each of seven crimes in order of relative importance.

Knowledge regarding sexual assault response. In the present context, beliefs were assessed with a number of knowledge questions, both before and after participation in the various rape training protocols. Knowledge questions were adapted from the *Illinois Sex Crimes Investigation Manual*, developed by the Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault and Police Training and Standards Board. Unfortunately, no psychometric information is available for the three knowledge sub-tests: (1) The Illinois Criminal Sexual Assault Act, (2) Sexual Assault Impact and Interview, (3) and Dynamics and Preliminary Investigation of Sexual Assault.

Rape myth acceptance. Recruits were also provided the 40-item *Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (IRMAS)* both before and after involvement in the rape training programs. The *IRMAS* was developed by Payne (1993) to assess rape myths, defined as "attitudes and beliefs that are generally false yet widely and persistently held and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women" (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p.134). Coefficient *alpha* for the scale was reported as .93, based on a sample of 780 university students; item-to-total correlations ranged from .31 to .67 (Payne, 1993).

Research using factor analysis and other multivariate techniques has indicated that the *IRMAS* includes seven separate but interrelated sub-domains (Payne, 1993), which can be defined as: (1) Victim Precipitation of Rape, (2) Implicit Definition of Sexual Assault, (3) Male Intention to Sexually Aggress, (4) Victim Desire or Enjoyment, (5) False

Charges; (6) Trivialization of the Crime; (7) and Deviance of the Act. Sample items include: "When women go around wearing low-cut tops or short skirts, they're just asking for trouble," and "Many so-called rape victims are actually women who had sex and 'changed their minds' afterwards." Items from the *Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale* are worded in a positive direction to reflect cultural myths, and responses are provided on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all agree*) to 7 (*very much agree*). Higher scores thus indicate greater endorsement of rape myths, but five negatively worded filler items are also provided in the scale to inhibit possible response bias.

Behavior in a simulated sexual assault interview. As a critical assessment of behavior and an innovative effort in this field, the present sample of police recruits were asked to participate in a simulated sexual assault interview with a roleplayer portraying the "victim." To facilitate this kind of training exercise, roleplayers were hired from the university theater department. Roleplayers were provided only minimal training in rape trauma syndrome as well as standardized guidelines for interview behavior. For example, substantial information was provided for roleplayers regarding: details of the assault scenario, specific characteristics of the victim and her response to the rape, as well as guidelines for general appearance and demeanor. Roleplayers remained naive, however, with respect to more specific knowledge of sexual assault and the appropriate police response. During the interview, verbal behavior of police recruits was audiotaped to examine questioning procedure and content.

Post-interview judgments: Police recruits. Following their participation in the simulated sexual assault interview, police recruits were next asked to make a number of judgments reflecting their perceptions of the hypothetical case presented. Specifically, recruits were asked to provide ratings of: victim and perpetrator characteristics, the criminality and seriousness of the incident, and consequences of the event. These items thus pertain to four sub-domains: (1) victim credibility; (2) victim responsibility; (3) harm to the victim; (4) and seriousness of the incident. In addition, three items were examined separately, assessing consequences of the event: (5) whether the recruit believed that there was probable cause to arrest the man involved; (6) whether the recruit believed that he would be prosecuted for criminal sexual assault (assuming he was arrested); and; (7) whether the recruit believed that the man would be convicted for criminal sexual assault (assuming he was prosecuted).

Although slight wording changes have been made for use with a police population, these questions were originally developed by Naber (1991) to investigate the judgments of undergraduates in hypothetical rape situations. For example, questions in the Naber (1991) study addressed university discipline procedures, whereas wording in the present context refers to the criminal justice system. With the slightly modified wording, Naber (1991) examined internal reliability for each of the sub-scales with a sample of 100 undergraduate women. Coefficient *alphas* were reported as: .72 for "perceived harm to the victim" (4 items); .78 for "victim credibility" (4 items); .69 for "victim responsibility" (4 items); and .88 for "deviance of the act" (5 items). As Naber (1991) reported, "the item-to-total correlations...were all high to moderately high, ranging from .58 to .91 and averaging .78" (p.17). In addition, principal component analysis with varimax rotation was used, yielding four factors that corresponded to the sub-scales described above.

Post-interview judgments for police recruits were presented with response options ranging from 1 *(not at all)*

to 7 (*extremely*), and sub-totals were computed by aggregating items from each sub-scale (i.e., victim credibility, victim responsibility, victim harm, incident seriousness, probable cause to arrest, likelihood of prosecution, and likelihood of conviction).

Post-interview judgments: Roleplayers. Victim roleplayers were also asked to provide a number of evaluations regarding the interviewer's performance and style. Specifically, roleplayers were asked to provide ratings of the police interviewer with respect to: (1) adequacy of interview content (did the interviewer acquire sufficient information); (2) overall evaluation of interview performance (was the interviewer polite, sympathetic, etc.); (3) estimates for the police perception of victim credibility (did the interviewer appear to believe the victim's story); (4) estimates for the police perception of victim responsibility (did the interviewer appear to blame the victim for her assault); (5) and estimates for the police perception of incident seriousness (did the interviewer appear to take the incident seriously and consider it a crime). Finally, roleplayers were asked about the perceived consequences of the event as a result of police intervention -- the likelihood that each interviewing recruit would (6) define the incident as rape and (7) make an arrest.

All of the roleplayer ratings were provided in a checklist format, with response options ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*). Thus, sub-totals were computed by aggregating descriptors from each sub-domain mentioned above (i.e., interview content, overall evaluation, victim credibility, victim responsibility, incident seriousness, determination as rape, and likelihood of arrest). Unfortunately, as these items were developed for use in the present study, no relevant psychometric information is currently available.

Procedure

Participation of each Basic Law Enforcement class began in the first week of police training with a discussion of the experimental procedure and their rights (please see the Appendix for a schedule of experimental participation for each class of recruits). Although participation in the experimental program was mandatory as part of the police academy curriculum, recruits were informed that their involvement in the evaluation component was both voluntary and anonymous. Following this discussion, recruits were then asked to sign a statement of informed consent. They were next provided with the pre-training questionnaires, which included background information, knowledge questions from the *Illinois Sex Crimes Investigation Manual*, and the *Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale*. To identify their many components of research participation, recruits were asked to include their mother's maiden name as identification on these pre-training questionnaires. It was hoped that such identification would allow pre- and post-training questionnaires to be linked to each other without linking either to personal identity. Following this pre-training assessment, recruits then participated in one of the three rape training protocols during the course of their Basic Law Enforcement training. After the training, police recruits were again provided examination questions from the *Illinois Sex Crimes Investigation Manual* and *Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale* for post-training evaluation.

In the final weeks of police training, recruits were asked to participate in the simulated interview with a roleplayer portraying a sexual assault victim. Before conducting the interview, police participants were reminded of both their anonymity in responses and their right to withdraw participation at any point. The interviews were next conducted, and they were audiotaped using only the mother's maiden name as an identifier. Following the interview,

both recruits and roleplayers were asked to provide post-interview judgments. After completing their participation in the outcome evaluation, classes of police recruits were thanked and provided a written and verbal debriefing fully describing the nature of the study and their role in it.

Hypotheses

The experimental training protocols were designed with a number of considerations from the law enforcement and psychology literature -- to guide the implementation of a program with maximal likelihood of influence. To that extent, the primary hypothesis for the present investigation was that:

> (1) Both four-hour experimental training programs will produce more change on the range of outcome measures than will the baseline curriculum with less than one hour of material.

Based on a number of the same considerations, it was also possible to hypothesize that:

> (2) The integrated format for experimental training will produce more change on the outcome measures than will the workshop format.

This second hypothesis was posited for two primary reasons. First, review of the persuasion literature has suggested that the integrated format for experimental training has the advantage of distributed rather than massed learning; such distributed learning (or "part-task training")has been demonstrated to induce greater and longer lasting change (Dempster, 1988; Mane, Adams, & Donchin, 1989). Yet the law enforcement literature suggests an additional reason for hypothesizing that the integrated format will produce more change than the workshop. Specifically, several authors have described the particular skepticism that police associate with sexual assault cases, perceiving them as somehow "different from" other issues of police concern, and the workshop format might simply exacerbate this tendency in police culture. To that extent, the integrated format might be particularly likely to produce change and learning because it does not isolate sexual assault but rather seeks to infuse it into the larger understanding of police issues. Thus, it is expected that both experimental training programs will produce more change on the outcome measures than will the baseline curriculum, but that the integrated format for experimental training will produce more than the workshop format.

RESULTS

Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were used to provide a comprehensive picture of the unique strengths for each sexual assault training protocol. Thus, scaled assessment was used to examine the impact of various training protocols on the following measures: (1) police knowledge regarding sexual assault response; (2) police acceptance of cultural rape myths; (3) post-interview judgments of police participants; (4) and judgments provided by victim roleplayers in the simulated sexual assault interviews. In complementary fashion, thematic coding was conducted with the transcripts of actual interview performance.

Scaled Assessment

Preliminary investigation. Preliminary analyses were conducted with the variables of background information, sexual assault knowledge, and rape myth acceptance -- revealing no pre-training group differences. Class differences

were seen, however, with rates of refusal for experimental participation, $\chi^2(2) = 14.61$, $p = 0.00$. Of the 168 police recruits asked to contribute to the present evaluation, only seven in the integrated condition refused -- resulting in a total of 161 experimental participants (N=56 in the baseline condition, N=56 in the workshop condition, and N=49 in the integrated condition). Unfortunately, no obvious explanation was apparent for this important variation -- it was presumably due to either unique characteristics of the participating classes or subtle differences in the introduction or explanation of the project. Because no class differences were seen with any of the pre-training variables except rates of refusal, descriptive statistics were therefore collapsed across treatment condition and examined with respect to the entire sample. These summary statistics are provided in Table 1.

Post-training comparisons of sexual assault knowledge. Knowledge scores were next subject to repeated measures analysis of variance to assess change with the three alternative training protocols (corrected *alpha* for the three comparisons = .05/3 = .017). As the results presented in Table 2 suggest, no interaction effect existed between the two factors of experimental condition and time of administration (pre- versus post-training) for any of the three knowledge sub-scales. Furthermore, no main effect was evident for experimental condition. Yet a significant difference was seen between the pre- and post-training administrations of the knowledge questions: (1) $F(1, 123) = 8.39$, $p = 0.004$ for Sexual Assault Impact and Interview; (2) $F(1, 122) = 26.13$, $p = 0.000$ for The Illinois Criminal Sexual Assault Act; (3) and $F(1, 130) = 17.93$, $p = 0.000$ for Dynamics and Preliminary Investigation of Sexual Assault. Thus, all of the participating recruits demonstrated a modest but significant increase in their sexual assault knowledge -- presumably as a result of the more general police training curriculum -- but the experimental training was no more effective than the baseline in producing such change.

Post-training comparisons of rape myth acceptance. One-way repeated measures analysis of variance was also conducted with the seven rape myth sub-domains (corrected *alpha* for the seven comparisons = .05/7 = .007). The results -- also presented in Table 2 -- suggest that none of the myths exhibited an interaction effect between the experimental condition and time of administration (pre- versus post-training). Furthermore, no main effects for treatment condition were seen; yet a significant difference did exist between the pre- and post-training assessment of at least one rape myth sub-domain.

A main effect for time of administration was seen with the myths that victims want or enjoy rape, $F(1, 132) = 7.90$, $p = 0.006$. Unfortunately, the modest but significant difference appeared to suggest that recruits were less rejecting of the myth following participation in the general police training curriculum (responses on the seven point Likert scale of acceptance averaged $M=1.59$ before training and $M=1.76$ after). The main effect for time also approached significance for myths regarding Victim Precipitation of Rape, $F(1, 131) = 5.00$, $p = 0.03$. Change for this myth was also seen in the undesirable direction -- such that the mean acceptance before training was 2.14, whereas the post-training average was 2.31.

Comparisons of post-interview police judgments. Post-interview judgments provided by police participants were investigated with one-way analysis of variance for each of the eight domains: (1) victim credibility; (2) victim responsibility; (3) victim harm; (4) incident seriousness; (5) whether the recruit identified probable cause to arrest; (6)

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whether the recruit believed the suspect would be prosecuted; (7) and whether the recruit believed the suspect would be convicted. As the results presented in Table 2 indicate, recruits did not differ by treatment condition for any of their post-interview judgments (corrected *alpha* for the seven comparisons = .05/7 = .007). Thus, the present data suggest that four hours of training in sexual assault response were no better than the baseline curriculum in influencing relevant police judgments.

Comparisons of post-interview roleplayer ratings. Ratings provided by the victim roleplayers were also subject to one-way analysis of variance (corrected *alpha* = .05/7 = .007). Results are summarized in Table 2.

Estimates of victim credibility. Using one-way analysis of variance with the roleplayer ratings, the results indicate that experimental classes received different estimates for the police perception of victim credibility, $F(2, 132) = 5.52$, $p = 0.005$. That is, victim roleplayers in the interviews estimated that the police viewed them as more or less credible depending on their participation in the alternative treatment conditions.

Pairwise comparisons were subsequently conducted for the three experimental conditions (corrected *alpha* for the three comparisons = .05/3 = .017). The results reveal that the overall effect is attributable to significant differences between the two experimental training protocols (workshop versus integrated condition), $F(1, 82) = 8.58$, $p = 0.004$ (medium effect size = 0.64), and between the baseline versus integrated condition, $F(1, 90) = 9.09$, $p = 0.003$ (medium effect size = 0.63). Only the baseline and workshop conditions did not produce roleplayer judgments that were significantly different from each other, $F(1, 92) = 0.53$, $p = 0.47$ (effect size = 0.15). As the means illustrate, the pattern of roleplayer ratings generally conformed to experimental hypotheses. Specifically, police recruits who participated in the integrated format for experimental training appeared to outperform those in both the workshop and baseline conditions -- at least by conveying to roleplayers in the simulated sexual assault interview that they and their story were credible.

Other roleplayer ratings. Because of the stringent criteria placed on analyses with the Bonferroni correction, none of the other roleplayer ratings were considered to be significantly different with respect to experimental condition ($p > .007$ for each). Yet the results are important to examine for a number of reasons. First, the comparisons approached more conventional criteria for significance ($p < .05$) in virtually every case. More importantly, the pattern of responses generally conformed to experimental expectations. Finally, these ratings are particularly important for outcome evaluation because they represent the only scaled assessment of actual police behavior. Although previous self-report measures were generally susceptible to limitations associated with social desirability and demand characteristics, the ratings of recruit performance provided by roleplayers -- who were blind to the experimental conditions -- were comparatively free of such weaknesses. For all of these reasons, the results for each type of roleplayer judgment are presented descriptively below with the corresponding p-values and effect sizes. Also summarized in Table 2, they appear to suggest that meaningful differences did emerge in the data that were not detectable with the current level of statistical power.

Adequacy of interviewing content. As Table 2 indicates, victim roleplayers evaluated the adequacy of interviewing content addressed by recruits, and these ratings differed by treatment condition, $F(2, 130) = 2.59$, $p = 0.08$

Furthermore, the pairwise comparisons indicate that the effect was primarily due to differences between the integrated versus workshop condition, $F(1, 82) = 5.65$, $p = 0.02$ (medium effect size = 0.52). Differences did not appear to exist between the baseline and workshop conditions, $F(1, 90) = 0.59$, $p = 0.44$ (effect size = 0.16), or in the baseline and integrated conditions, $F(1, 88) = 2.30$, $p = 0.13$ (small effect size = 0.32). As the means suggest, class differences in interviewing content appear to be due to the outperformance of recruits in the integrated condition in comparison with the workshop condition.

Overall evaluation of interview performance. Similarly, roleplayers provided an overall evaluation for police performance in the simulated interviews; these also differed with respect to experimental condition, $F(2, 132) = 2.95$, $p = 0.06$. Furthermore, pairwise comparisons suggested that recruits in the integrated condition outperformed those in both the baseline condition, $F(1, 90) = 4.80$, $p = 0.03$ (medium effect size = 0.46), and the workshop condition, $F(1, 82) = 4.16$, $p = 0.05$ (medium effect size = 0.45). No such difference appeared to exist between the baseline condition and workshop condition, $F(1, 92) = 0.32$, $p = 0.57$ (effect size = 0.12). Thus, the means support the conclusion that police recruits who participated in the integrated format for sexual assault training outperformed others with respect to the overall evaluation of interview performance.

Estimates of victim responsibility. Third, roleplayers provided estimates for the level of responsibility or blame that was seemingly attributed to them by the interviewing recruits. Overall analyses revealed that differences did exist among the three treatment conditions, $F(2, 132) = 3.28$, $p = 0.04$. Furthermore, pairwise comparisons suggested that the effect was again due to differences in the integrated versus workshop condition, $F(1, 82) = 5.69$, $p = 0.02$ (medium effect size = 0.55), as well as the integrated versus baseline condition, $F(1, 90) = 6.12$, $p = 0.02$ (medium effect size = 0.51). Again, no difference was seen between the baseline and workshop conditions, $F(1, 92) = 0.00$, $p = 0.96$ (effect size = 0.01). Finally, the means demonstrate that police recruits in the integrated condition provided more appropriate messages regarding victim responsibility than those in the other training classes.

Estimates of incident seriousness. With respect to the police perceptions of incident seriousness, roleplayers again provided estimates that differed by experimental condition, $F(2, 132) = 2.60$, $p = 0.08$. Pairwise comparisons also suggested that the effect was attributable to the difference in the integrated versus baseline condition, $F(1, 90) = 3.98$, $p = 0.05$ (medium effect size = 0.42). No such difference was seen between the integrated and workshop conditions, $F(1, 82) = 0.55$, $p = 0.46$ (effect size = 0.16), or between the workshop and baseline conditions, $F(1, 92) = 2.24$, $p = 0.14$ (small effect size = 0.31). Thus, the means illustrate this pattern of results. Specifically, recruits who participated in integrated format for sexual assault training appeared to outperform those in the baseline class -- when communicating to roleplayers that the incident portrayed was a serious one.

Definition of the incident as rape. Finally, roleplayers provided judgments regarding whether or not the interviewing recruit appeared to define the incident as constituting rape. Again, roleplayers provided different judgments in the three treatment conditions, $F(2, 131) = 4.48$, $p = 0.01$. When pairwise comparisons were conducted, however, a slightly different pattern emerged from the previous judgments. The overall effect appeared to be due to the differences in the baseline versus workshop condition, $F(1, 91) = 3.45$, $p = 0.07$ (small effect size = 0.39), as well as in

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the baseline versus integrated condition, $F(1, 90) = 7.35$, $p = 0.01$ (medium effect size = 0.57). No such difference was seen in the workshop and integrated formats for experimental training, $F(1, 81) = 1.13$, $p = 0.29$ (small effect size = 0.23). Thus, as the means illustrate, recruits participating in the experimental training protocols -- both the workshop and integrated format -- were judged to be more likely to define the simulated case as rape.

Perceived likelihood of arrest. Interestingly, roleplayer ratings of whether or not the interviewing recruit was likely to make an arrest did not differ by experimental condition. Fortunately, this lack of effect seems due to the fact that the perceived likelihood of arrest was universally high; the average rating was 6.10 on a scale ranging from 1 = Not at All Likely to 7 = Extremely Likely.

Summary and analysis of combined scores. When analyses were conducted using a Bonferroni correction for experimental error rate, only one of the roleplayer ratings was concluded to differ with respect to experimental condition. Yet when less stringent requirements were placed on the error rate, a consistent pattern of results emerged with virtually every other judgment provided by roleplayers. Specifically, pairwise comparisons and examination of means revealed that virtually all of the roleplayer ratings differed by treatment condition because police recruits in the integrated condition demonstrated superior performance in the simulated interview than those in either the workshop or baseline condition. Only the likelihood of arrest did not appear to differ among roleplayers in each group.

In a final effort to investigate the pattern of results, all of the roleplayer ratings were combined into a single score and examined with respect to experimental condition. This analysis was designed to increase the power of the investigation by collapsing across the different content areas and providing an assessment of overall interview performance -- as rated by the victim roleplayers. Using the conventional level of significance ($p<.05$), the results suggested that the three classes did indeed differ with respect to overall roleplayer ratings, $F(2, 129) = 3.46$, $p = 0.03$. When pairwise comparisons were conducted with the three classes (corrected *alpha* = .05/3 = .017), the overall effect appeared to be primarily due to the difference between the baseline and integrated conditions, $F(1, 88) = 5.95$, $p = 0.017$ (small effect size = 0.09). No such differences were seen between the baseline and workshop conditions, $F(1, 89) = 0.47$, $p = 0.49$ (small effect size = 0.03) or between the workshop and integrated conditions, $F(1, 81) = 4.39$, $p = 0.04$ (small effect size = 0.10). Therefore, the pattern of results is generally consistent with experimental hypotheses, and suggests that the integrated format for sexual assault training is the one that best prepared police recruits to communicate effectively in the simulated interview.

Thematic Coding

To complement the investigation of scaled assessment, thematic coding was conducted with the actual verbal performance in the simulated interview. Such qualitative coding has been characterized as involving two distinct stages. First, *initial coding* provides an overall picture of themes and patterns in the data (Charmaz, 1983). Second, more *focused coding* yields the clarification of coding structures by identifying all of the data included in each category and noting both consistencies and variations (Charmaz, 1983). In this more focused analysis, researchers can use thematic codes developed not only from the participants' actual responses but also from the research questions and larger relevant literature. Thus, "coding schemes, developed inductively or driven by research questions are a critical data reduction

tool" (Miles & Huberman, 1984b, p.25).

General strategy. Applying these strategies to the present investigation, the research team[4] first conducted initial coding, examining the different data sources and identifying themes that best represented the responses of participating police recruits. Focused coding then supplemented these initial themes with additional categories derived from: (1) specific training goals for the experimental program; (2) the literature pertaining to sexual victimization; (3) and the general field of law enforcement and training. Finally, through collaborative interaction with both the research team and the data itself (Miles & Huberman, 1984a, 1984b), final coding categories were clarified. In that process, a handful of codes were added, removed, or modified to appropriately reflect the written responses of police participants.

Using this strategy, a single coding system was developed for use with the interview transcripts; the agreement of independent coders varied by category, ranging from a low of 41% to a high of 100%. Initial disagreement was resolved by the independent coders, who engaged in a process of discussion and debate to settle on the final category assignment. Codes were assigned to the interview transcripts at the highest level of specificity (i.e., "Did the officer repeat the victim's story after she completed telling it?" rather than "Interview Pace/Tone" or "Establishing/Maintaining Rapport"), on a response scale with options of 0 = *Not at All Applicable*, 1 = *Somewhat Applicable*, and 2 = *Very Much Applicable*. For primary analyses, coding assignments of 1 or 2 were combined to contrast with those receiving a code of 0. After finalizing the thematic coding structure, the frequency of responses from each category was compared across treatment condition.

Class differences in interview performance. As Table 3 reveals, the recruits in the three classes asked different types of questions in the simulated interviews. When a stringent criteria was used for statistical significance ($p < .01$), it appeared that officers in the workshop condition were more likely than others to ask about the victim's comfort, specifically in the context of the police interview, $X^2(2) = 9.77$, $p = .01$. Those in the workshop condition were also most likely to: (1) compliement the victim on her strength, courage, or style of response, $X^2(2) = 9.23$, $p = .00$; (2) provide her with information on the police department (including their phone number, business card, etc.), $X^2(2) = 26.08$, $p = .00$; (3) and explicitly state that the officer was there to help the victim, $X^2(2) = 10.37$, $p = .01$.

When more conventional criteria for significance were employed ($p < .05$), several additional differences emerged between the three classes. First, officers in the workshop condition were more likely than others to: (1) provide the victim with options for the police interview (including location, time, gender of the officer, etc.), $X^2(2) = 7.71$, $p = .02$; (2) address the victim's concerns for physical safety (whether she feared reprisal from the suspect, whether she wanted someone to stay with at night, whether the officer could check in on her later, etc.), $X^2(2) = 5.91$, $p = .05$; (3) explicitly state that the incident was the fault of the man involved, $X^2(2) = 7.28$, $p = .03$; (4) assess the victim's physical injuries to establish statutory force, $X^2(2) = 5.88$, $p = .05$; (5) and explain to the victim that the decision to file a police report could be made at a later date (after the victim expressed concerns regarding criminal prosecution), $X^2(2) = 8.05$, $p = .02$. Thus, participants in the workshop condition seemed more likely than others to address the victim's physical and emotional well-being, as well as explaining the criminal justice procedures and establishing the statutory requirement of force.

Second, recruits in the two experimental training conditions (workshop and integrated) were more likely than those in the baseline condition to: (1) allow the victim to set a comfortable pace and tone for the interview (encouraging the victim to ask questions, take a break, get something to drink, etc.), $X^2(2) = 7.03$, $p = .03$; (2) encourage the victim to ask questions at the conclusion of the interview, $X^2(2) = 6.30$, $p = .04$; (3) and explain to the victim that some evidence would be lost with the passage of time if she delayed filing a police report, $X^2(2) = 7.31$, $p = .03$. Thus, recruits who participated in the experimental training were more likely than others to establish the tone for a successful interview as well as explaining that evidence can be lost in situations of delayed reporting. Although the former two elements are clearly critical for successful performance in sexual assault interviews, the last can be either desirable or not depending on the nature and tone of the verbal communication; it could represent either helpful explanation or coercive pressure to cooperate with police.

Finally, officers in the integrated condition appeared the least likely to: (1) ask about the victim's alcohol use, $X^2(2) = 8.23$, $p = .02$; (2) explain to the victim the procedures for criminal prosecution, $X^2(2) = 8.25$, $p = .02$; (3) and emphasize that the incident was serious and/or criminal (after the victim expressed concerns regarding prosecution), $X^2(2) = 7.74$, $p = .02$. Recruits in the integrated condition thus focused less on the prejudicial factor of victim alcohol use, but the failure to explain prosecution procedures and the decreased emphasis on the seriousness/criminality of the incident could be interpreted differently depending on the tone of communication to victims. Such factors could either represent the withholding of helpful information and trivialization of the crime, or they could convey decreased pressure for the victim to cooperate with criminal prosecution.

DISCUSSION

It is imperative that police be adequately trained and sensitized to deal with the rape victim, and for that matter, the victim of any crime, in a professional but compassionate manner. It is only through this technique that good interviewing can produce good investigation and ultimately good convictions (Bracki & Connor, 1975, p.41).

The primary hypothesis stated that both experimental training programs would produce more change on the selected outcome measures than would the baseline curriculum -- based on the assumption that four hours of specialized training is superior to less than one hour. Second, the integrated condition was expected to produce more change than the workshop condition, as such distributed exposure is generally better than massed. The integrated condition was also expected to produce more change by counteracting the common police view that sexual assault is isolated from other issues of concern. Yet the pattern of results appeared to support a third position -- that change was generally not seen in ideology (e.g., knowledge and attitudes) of the participating police recruits, but that behavior did indeed improve in the two classes receiving experimental intervention (workshop and integrated conditions).

First, scaled assessment generally failed to support the primary hypothesis, as experimental training produced no more change than the baseline curriculum in sexual assault knowledge, rape myth acceptance, and police judgments in the simulated interview. Furthermore, when the appropriate correction was made for error rate, only the roleplayer

estimates of victim credibility differed by experimental condition. However, when this stringent criteria was somewhat relaxed, the pattern of results for virtually all of the roleplayer ratings conformed to expectations. Recruits in the two experimental conditions (workshop and integrated -- but especially integrated) were more likely than those in the baseline condition to: (1) communicate to the victim roleplayers that they and their story were credible; (2) address better content during questioning; (3) perform more favorably overall; (4) convey to roleplayers that the incident described was serious and/or criminal; (5) and that it constituted rape.

The complementary strategy of thematic coding also revealed that recruits in the two experimental conditions (but especially in the workshop condition) also outperformed those in the baseline condition with respect to actual interviewing content and style. Specifically, officers in the workshop condition were more likely than others to address the victim's physical and emotional needs, the suspect's responsibility for the rape, the statutory element of force, and the victim's information and options for police response. Recruits in both experimental conditions were also more likely than those in the baseline condition to allow the victim to set a comfortable pace and tone for the police interview, as well as explaining that delayed reporting involves a necessary loss of evidence. Finally, recruits in the integrated condition were least likely to ask about the victim's alcohol use, explain the procedures for criminal prosecution, and emphasize that the incident was serious and/or criminal (after the victim expressed concerns regarding prosecution). Taken together, the results clearly support the primary hypothesis by suggesting that the experimental training better prepared recruits to handle the simulated interviews than did the baseline curriculum.

Specific Limitations with the Roleplayer Ratings

A number of issues merit consideration with respect to the present results -- especially with respect to the roleplayer ratings of interview performance. First, effect sizes for virtually all of the group comparisons with roleplayer ratings ranged only from small to medium. Combined with the relaxation of experimental error rate, the modest effect sizes suggest that any conclusion of change should remain tentative pending further investigation. Second, alternative explanations exist for the pattern of results. For example, the superior performance suggested to occur in the integrated condition might not be attributable to the experimental manipulation, but rather to the differential experimental mortality discussed previously. Although 100% compliance was gained in the baseline and workshop conditions, approximately 12% of the recruits in the integrated condition refused to participate. Although the reasons for this differential refusal remain unclear, this issue is important to consider when interpreting the present results, especially as it provides an alternative explanation to the experimental hypotheses. Because the integrated condition demonstrated the lowest rate of experimental participation, it is possible that any change evident in that condition is due less to superior training than to the "cherry-picking" of cooperative individuals through mortality.

Furthermore, although victim roleplayers in the simulated interviews were presumed to be blind to experimental conditions/hypotheses, a considerable amount of interaction took place between the roleplayers and recruits. Recruits, experimenters, or others involved in the training program could have provided the roleplayers with information to compromise experimental control and subsequent integrity. Finally, the differential performance in the

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integrated condition could have been due to practice effects experienced by the victim roleplayers. Perhaps the roleplayers made different (and more favorable) judgments of the police interviewers as a result of having conducted two prior experimental sessions.[5]

Yet these alternative explanations cannot necessarily account for the complete pattern of results. For example, although experimental mortality can explain the responses of recruits in the integrated condition, it is less clear how it relates to the differences between the baseline and workshop conditions. Furthermore, it is not obvious how any of the alternative explanations (except practice effects) could account for the fact that change was seen only with respect to roleplayer ratings and not the other experimental variables. Differences in experimental mortality would be presumed to influence all types of outcome measures. It therefore seems appropriate to conclude that the roleplayer ratings did exhibit meaningful differences that were not seen with the other experimental variables.

Of course, a number of other limitations plague this kind of naturalistic, ecological inquiry (please see Lonsway, 1996). Their comprehensive discussion is beyond the scope of the present paper, but surely limit the strength and generalizability of conclusions.

Conclusions

Clearly, specific training is needed to prepare police recruits for competent performance in sexual assault interviews. Yet the instructional format requires additional research to clarify which instructional format is most effective for what particular purpose -- whether the goals should reflect changes in knowledge, attitudes, or behavior. The present results suggest that one-shot intervention is most effective for behavioral change among neophyte police officers -- but such training might not similarly influence their knowledge, attitudes, or perceptions. This surprising conclusion has implications that are fundamental to the field of police training, suggesting that an isolated approach to sexual assault training might be more appropriate for the cognitive structure of recruits. Perhaps the conceptualization of law enforcement is not yet developed among recruits into a fully integrated structure, so that training material is best presented in a comprehensive but isolated unit. In contrast, more integrated training might be more appropriate for veteran officers who have infused their understanding of sexual assault into the larger field of police issues.

Such implications provide the basis for future research, as well as fruitful innovation in police training. While independent training units can thus represent the short-term goal for police training in sexual assault response, perhaps the larger aim should also include the full integration of material that connects sexual assault to the broader range of police concerns. Ultimately, such an agenda should progress further toward a world in which rape survivors receive the competent and sensitive treatment they deserve from the criminal justice system.

ENDNOTES

[1]It is also estimated that as many as 1 in 10 men will become the victim of sexual assault (Gibbs, 1991). Although in no way attempting to disregard these male victims, this review will primarily consider male-on-female assault; recent research suggests that the vast majority of sexual assault victims are indeed female (National Victim Center, 1992a; Sorenson & Siegal, 1992).

[2]Unfounding is defined as the determination, after police investigation, that a criminal charge is false.

[3]To some extent, this situation reflects the general lack of social science research devoted to the study of law enforcement (Nietzel & Hartung, 1993; VanMaanen, 1974; Wortley & Homel, 1995). Thus, past research "upon which so much theoretical analysis is still based may have little relevance for today" (Wortley & Homel, 1995, p.307).

[4]The research team consisted of the author and several undergraduate assistants, to whom considerable credit is due: Brad Giglio, Catherine Griffiths, Russell Ainsworth, Emily Hansen, Jen Longawa, Emilee Hewitt, Colleen McCarthy, and Tracy Kenline.

[5]It seems more likely, however, that the increased experience of victim roleplayers in the integrated condition would lead to more sophisticated -- and therefore <u>less</u> favorable -- ratings of interview performance.

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TABLE 1

Background Characteristics of the Present Sample (N = 161)

Participant Sex:

Male (N = 151)
Female (N = 10)

Participant Age:

Mean = 26.23 Years
Standard Deviation = 4.85
Minimum = 21.00 Years
Maximum = 59.00 Years

Racial/Ethnic Identification:

African-American/Black (N = 6)
European-American/White (N = 141)
Latino/Latina (N = 5)
Native American (N = 7)

Years of Past Law Enforcement Experience:

Mean = 1.75 Years
Standard Deviation = 3.04
Minimum = 0.00 Years
Maximum = 25.00 Years

Employing Law Enforcement Agency:

Municipal Police Department/Population Less than 30,000 (N = 84)
Municipal Police Department/Population of 30,000 to 100,000 (N = 36)
Municipal Police Department/Population More than 100,000 (N = 4)
University Police Department (N = 3)
Sheriff's Department (N = 30)

Direct Exposure to Sexual Assault Victims:

No Contact (N = 105)
Previous Contact (N = 51)

Future Expectations for Professional Contact with Sexual Assault Victims (1 = Not At All Likely to 7 = Extremely Likely):

Mean = 4.98
Standard Deviation = 1.69
Minimum = 1.00
Maximum = 7.00

- TABLE CONTINUES -

Perceived Importance of Knowing the Procedures for Handling Sexual Assault in Comparison with Other Crimes (Sexual Assault was One of Seven Crimes Ranked in Order from 1 = Most Important to 7 = Least Important):

Mean = 3.57	Minimum = 1.00
Standard Deviation = 1.86	Maximum = 7.00

Direct Exposure to Other Types of Crime Victims:

Robbery/Burglary	No Contact (N = 63) Previous Contact (N = 95)
Auto Theft	No Contact (N = 101) Previous Contact (N = 58)
Assault (Non-Domestic)	No Contact (N = 74) Previous Contact (N = 82)
Domestic Violence	No Contact (N = 71) Previous Contact (N = 85)
Child Abuse/Assault	No Contact (N = 114) Previous Contact (N = 43)

Future Expectations for Professional Contact with Other Types of Crime Victims (1 = Not At All Likely to 7 = Extremely Likely):

Robbery/Burglary	Mean = 6.37 Standard Deviation = 1.14
Auto Theft	Mean = 5.35 Standard Deviation = 1.75
Assault (Non-Domestic)	Mean = 6.26 Standard Deviation = 1.26
Domestic Violence	Mean = 6.50 Standard Deviation = 1.07
Child Abuse/Assault	Mean = 4.82 Standard Deviation = 1.71
Controlled Substances	Mean = 6.89 Standard Deviation = 5.76

- TABLE CONTINUES -

Perceived Importance of Knowing the Procedures for Handling Sexual Assault in Comparison with Other Crimes (Seven Crimes were Ranked in Order from 1 = Most Important to 7 = Least Important):

Robbery/Burglary	Mean = 3.91 Standard Deviation = 1.83
Auto Theft	Mean = 5.94 Standard Deviation = 1.55
Assault (Non-Domestic)	Mean = 4.22 Standard Deviation = 1.54
Domestic Violence	Mean = 2.82 Standard Deviation = 1.38
Child Abuse/Assault	Mean = 3.44 Standard Deviation = 2.25
Controlled Substances	Mean = 4.10 Standard Deviation = 1.98

Knowledge Questions (Total Score of 10 for Each Sub-Test):

Sexual Assault Impact and Interview	Mean = 7.15 Standard Deviation = 1.27	Minimum = 3.00 Maximum = 9.00
Illinois Criminal Sexual Assault Law	Mean = 5.74 Standard Deviation = 1.26	Minimum = 2.00 Maximum = 8.00
Dynamics and Preliminary Investigation of Sexual Assault	Mean = 7.89 Standard Deviation = 1.26	Minimum = 4.00 Maximum = 10.00

Rape Myth Acceptance (Scores Averaged within Each Sub-Domain, with 1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree):

Victim Precipitation of Rape	Mean = 2.19 Standard Deviation = 0.98	Minimum = 1.00 Maximum = 5.25
Implicit Definition of Sexual Assault	Mean = 1.31 Standard Deviation = 0.54	Minimum = 1.00 Maximum = 4.00
Male Intention to Sexually Aggress	Mean = 2.82 Standard Deviation = 1.42	Minimum = 1.00 Maximum = 7.00
Victim Desire/Enjoyment	Mean = 1.63 Standard Deviation = 0.83	Minimum = 1.00 Maximum = 4.80

- TABLE CONTINUES -

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Rape Myth Acceptance (continued):

False Charges	Mean = 2.93	Minimum = 1.00
	Standard Deviation = 1.16	Maximum = 7.00
Trivialization of the Crime	Mean = 1.42	Minimum = 1.00
	Standard Deviation = 0.59	Maximum = 4.00
Deviance of the Act	Mean = 1.54	Minimum = 1.00
	Standard Deviation = 0.64	Maximum = 3.71

TABLE 2

Summary of Significance Tests

SEXUAL ASSAULT KNOWLEDGE QUESTIONS (REPEATED MEASURES ANOVA)

(1) Sexual Assault Impact and Interview

Between Subjects

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	4.018	2	2.009	1.001	0.370
Error	246.839	123	2.007		

Within Subjects

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Time of Administration	5.332	1	5.332	8.386	0.004
Interaction (Condition X Time)	1.657	2	0.828	1.303	0.275
Error	78.200	123	0.636		

(2) Illinois Criminal Sexual Assault Law

Between Subjects

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	6.235	2	3.117	1.536	0.219
Error	247.549	122	2.029		

Within Subjects

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Time of Administration	39.068	1	39.068	26.132	0.000
Interaction (Condition X Time)	4.191	2	1.095	1.402	0.250
Error	182.393	122	1.495		

(3) Dynamics and Preliminary Investigation of Sexual Assault

Between Subjects

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	0.056	2	0.028	0.012	0.988
Error	299.779	130	2.306		

Within Subjects

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Time of Administration	14.522	1	14.522	17.932	0.000
Interaction (Condition X Time)	4.076	2	2.038	2.517	0.085
Error	105.277	130	0.810		

- TABLE CONTINUES -

RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE (REPEATED MEASURES ANOVA)

(1) Victim Precipitation of Rape

Between Subjects					
SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	0.243	2	0.121	0.069	0.934
Error	231.076	131	1.764		

Within Subjects					
SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Time of Administration	1.920	1	1.920	4.999	0.027
Interaction (Condition X Time)	0.610	2	0.305	0.794	0.454
Error	50.320	131	0.384		

(2) Implicit Definition of Sexual Assault

Between Subjects					
SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	2.581	2	1.291	3.272	0.041
Error	52.076	132	0.395		

Within Subjects					
SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Time of Administration	0.005	1	0.005	0.026	0.872
Interaction (Condition X Time)	0.069	2	0.035	0.186	0.831
Error	26.648	132	0.187		

(3) Male Intention to Sexually Aggress

Between Subjects					
SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	10.597	2	5.298	1.719	0.183
Error	406.736	132	3.081		

Within Subjects					
SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Time of Administration	0.003	1	0.003	0.006	0.937
Interaction (Condition X Time)	0.769	2	0.385	0.846	0.431
Error	60.028	132	0.455		

(4) Victim Desire/Enjoyment

Between Subjects					
SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	0.540	2	0.270	0.241	0.786
Error	147.654	132	1.119		

- TABLE CONTINUES -

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Within Subjects

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Time of Administration	1.961	1	1.961	7.895	0.006
Interaction (Condition X Time)	0.306	2	0.153	0.616	0.542
Error	32.781	132	0.248		

(5) False Charges

Between Subjects

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	1.983	2	0.992	0.402	0.670
Error	325.383	132	2.465		

Within Subjects

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Time of Administration	0.110	1	0.110	0.231	0.632
Interaction (Condition X Time)	0.008	2	0.004	0.009	0.991
Error	63.075	132	0.478		

(6) Trivialization of the Crime

Between Subjects

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	3.521	2	1.760	2.722	0.069
Error	84.058	130	0.647		

Within Subjects

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Time of Administration	0.588	1	0.588	2.712	0.102
Interaction (Condition X Time)	0.920	2	0.460	2.122	0.124
Error	28.172	130	0.217		

(7) Deviance of the Act

Between Subjects

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	1.957	2	0.979	1.508	0.225
Error	86.333	133	0.649		

Within Subjects

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Time of Administration	0.268	1	0.268	1.289	0.258
Interaction (Condition X Time)	0.576	2	0.288	1.384	0.254
Error	27.684	133	0.208		

- TABLE CONTINUES -

POST-INTERVIEW JUDGMENTS BY POLICE PARTICIPANTS (ONE-WAY ANOVA)

(1) Perceptions of Victim Credibility

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	0.591	2	0.296	0.544	0.582
Error	70.073	129	0.543		

(2) Perceptions of Victim Responsibility

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	0.064	2	0.032	0.111	0.895
Error	36.873	128	0.288		

(3) Perceptions of Victim Harm

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	1.219	2	0.610	0.814	0.445
Error	96.579	129	0.749		

(4) Perceptions of Incident Seriousness

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	0.531	2	0.266	0.753	0.473
Error	45.128	128	0.353		

(5) Perceptions of Probable Cause to Arrest

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	0.154	2	0.077	0.079	0.924
Error	124.502	128	0.973		

(6) Perceived Likelihood of Prosecution

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	0.858	2	0.429	0.211	0.810
Error	256.180	126	2.033		

(7) Perceived Likelihood of Conviction

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	1.133	2	0.566	0.216	0.806
Error	332.336	127	2.617		

- TABLE CONTINUES -

POST-INTERVIEW JUDGMENTS BY VICTIM ROLEPLAYERS (ONE-WAY ANOVA)

(1) Adequacy of Interview Content

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	4.754	2	2.377	2.585	0.079
Error	119.558	130	0.920		

(2) Overall Evaluation of Interview Performance

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	5.531	2	2.766	2.953	0.056
Error	123.616	132	0.936		

(3) Estimates for the Police Perception of Victim Credibility

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	8.258	2	4.129	5.520	0.005
Error	98.734	132	0.748		

(4) Estimates for the Police Perception of Victim Responsibility

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	4.724	2	2.362	3.282	0.041
Error	95.001	132	0.720		

(5) Estimates for the Police Perception of Incident Seriousness

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	4.992	2	2.496	2.602	0.078
Error	126.608	132	0.959		

(6) Estimates that the Interviewing Recruit would Define the Incident as Rape

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	9.946	2	4.973	4.480	0.013
Error	145.427	131	1.110		

(7) Estimates that the Interviewing Recruit would Make an Arrest

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Experimental Condition	3.942	2	1.971	1.342	0.265
Error	193.806	132	1.468		

TABLE 3

Summary of Thematic Coding: Interview Transcripts

		FREQUENCY FOR CONDITION		
I. ESTABLISHING/MAINTAINING RAPPORT				
		1	**2**	**3***
A. Interview Pace/Tone				
1.	Repeated the Victim's Story	7	9	5
2.	Set the Pace/Tone of Interview at the Beginning	2	10	6
3.	Encouraged Questions at the End of the Interview	2	8	7
B. Addressing Victim Needs/Concerns				
1.	Presence of Others During Interview	2	5	3
2.	Victim Options for the Interview	0	7	3
3.	Physical Safety Concerns	1	7	2
4.	Orders of Protection	1	1	1
5.	Privacy Concerns	4	7	5
6.	Comfort in the Interview	9	20	10
C. Empathy/Reassurance				
1.	Expressed Concern for Victim Well-Being	9	17	9
2.	Stated that the Police Were There to Help	4	15	6
3.	Stated that the Incident Was Serious/Criminal	16	21	10
4.	Assured the Victim that She was Not Responsible	10	14	4
5.	Assured that the Perpetrator was Responsible	13	18	6
6.	Complemented the Victim's Strength/Response	2	9	1
D. Information Provided to Victim				
1.	Explained Medical Procedures	6	7	9
2.	Victim Already Completed Medical Procedures	8	0	0
3.	Explained that Medical Procedures were Free	0	0	0
4.	Explained Procedures for the Police Report	8	15	8
5.	Explained Procedures for Criminal Prosecution	12	16	14
6.	Provided Information about the Police Department	3	17	1
E. Assistance/Referrals				
1.	Offered Tangible Assistance	5	8	2
2.	Offered Referral for Social Services	13	18	9

- TABLE CONTINUES -

II. PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION		FREQUENCY FOR CONDITION		
A. Elements of the Offense		**1**	**2**	**3**
1	Established Sexual Penetration	12	13	9
2	Asked Excessive Sexual Questions	5	1	1
3	Established Force or Threat of Force	23	24	17
4	Asked about Use of a Weapon	4	5	5
5	Asked about Victim Injuries	8	13	3
6	Asked about Victim's Expressed Consent	10	9	5
7	Asked about Resistance/Escape	11	6	6
B. Suspect Description/Background				
1	Acquired Information for Identification	23	24	18
2	Acquired Information for Description	12	7	11
C. Evidentiary Issues				
1	Asked about Evidence on the Victim	5	4	6
2	Asked about the Victim's Clothing	3	2	4
3	Asked about the Victim's Apartment	3	1	4
4	Asked about Witnesses	13	8	7
5	Asked about Outcry Witnesses	8	13	7
6	Stated that There was Sufficient Evidence	3	2	0
7	Stated that There was a Lack of Evidence	0	0	0
D. Alcohol Use				
1	Asked about the Victim's Alcohol Use	14	5	6
2	Asked about the Perpetrator's Alcohol Use	11	7	8
E. Prosecution Concerns				
1	Prosecution Decision was the Victim's	13	16	6
2	Prosecution Decision was the State's Attorney's	5	4	5
3	Victim Asked about Prosecution?	16	14	8
4	Victim Expressed Concerns Regarding Prosecution	18	20	12
If the victim expressed concerns regarding prosecution:				
5	Explained Procedures for Criminal Prosecution	13	15	5
6	Explained that the Victim could Decide Later	7	16	7
7	Explained that Evidence Could be Lost with Delay	0	6	4
8	Encouraged the Victim to Prosecute	6	11	6
9	Stated that Cooperation was in Victim's Interest	3	6	1
10	Emphasized that the Incident was Serious/Criminal	13	13	3
11	Stressed that the Suspect Should not Assault Again	10	12	4
12	Provided Information on Sentencing	4	5	0

[a]Condition 1 = Baseline Curriculum, Condition 2 = Workshop Format for Experimental Training, and Condition 3 = Integrated Format for Experimental Training.

APPENDIX

Schedule for Experimental Participation of Police Training Classes

	7/31/95	9/5/95	9/27/95	10/4/95	10/9/95	11/1/95	10/18/95-11/16/95	12/6/95
Condition 1 Baseline	Pre-Test Week #1		Interview Practical & Post-Test Week #9					
Condition 2 Workshop		Pre-Test Week #1		Workshop Training Week #5		Interview Practical & Post-Test Week #9		
Condition 3 Integrated					Pre-Test Week #1		Integrated Training Weeks #2-6	Interview Practical & Post-Test Week #9